THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION OF THE STATES. THEY "MUST BE PRESERVED."

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 25, 1849.

THE NORTH CAROLINA STANDARD tion of our countrymen from a participation therein. IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY WILLIAM W. HOLDEN,

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SPEECH OF MR. VENABLE. OF NORTH CAROLINA,

on some one, which would afford a just basis, for vast importance of repose to the public mind, I have lar to our own. A longer tutelage is indispensablebeen desirous that some measure of conciliation should a time for assimilation must be allowed. it a prevailing influence to restore kind and fraternal

It would be uncandid, as well as unwise to say by him, he says: hat alienation of feeling does not exist, and that to a transcend the folly of making them, but the extreme created out of it." ose to argue this subject, either in the spirit of menace or of supplication. I propose only to claim for the South the guarantees of the Constitution, and for be the willing author of the disaster which over- the cestui que trusts.

sensibility which seems to have come over the public mind, and sometimes into this House, in relation to this subject of slavery in all its bearings and relations. Gen tlemen are often alluded to as any local state, as to the provisions of its and relations. Gen tlemen are often alluded to as any local state, as to the provisions of its and relations. Gen tlemen are often alluded to as provisions which would render it proper for Congress we owe to these inhabitants to extend over them the agitutors and fanatics, who have never gone beyond not to be discussed because it will agitate.

fearful matters which now fester in the hearts, and of the disease which he proposes to treat; and if fatal

cuss questions of ethics, but of constitutional rightnot to lecture on the progress of society or the depropositions which are urged with a view to the govrament to be framed in the bill and substitute now

EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

The North Carolina State Dollars per annum, payable in advance. In oinstance will the paper be sent, unless the mongst of the Supposed to be about 110,000 instance will the paper be sent, unless the mongst of the Wilner of the Wil the same shall accompany the order. Subscribers, and least one-third of the United States, and a population provise, which is nearly a would break the force of every effort to secure reporters, who may wish to send money to the Editor, can not much exceeding half of that of the small State in excluding us, by admitting the territorial soverdo so at all times, by Mail and at his risk. Receipts for sums will be promptly transmitted.

Any entries were to good of the people whom they represent, and the which are actually savages, and the remainder not highly civilized, living in villages, or sparsely scat-flection, that we fix it on ourselves. If the proviso body. We can all of us, I trust, consent to give the collection of debts, the use the restraints of law, or the operation of civil insti- which power imposes; if we vote for a State govern- its character, and place sels; and a total confiscation of all claims by the c charged twenty-five per cent. higher than the above and unenlightened as to self-government. For such a chance, we fix it upon ourselves. Believe me, are under to give the government—places the power But, sir, I am contented to be associated with ates. A reasonable deduction will be made to those who a people, prudence at once decides that a territorial sir, that this expedient will never satisfy thinking and the responsibility of that government in the those gentlemen, even at the expense of my col-

which can at once give order and tranquility to the slavery must be excluded the Senate, having for its object the adjustment of this vexed question, the most mature consideration. I have to be preferred. They are unlike the inhabitants of Sir, I use no language of menace—it is both unman-

fair arrangement between the parties, would carry with from Virginia, [Mr. Preston,] that this Federal Gov- In the best days of our Republic it was not so: Con- with his leader. But he greatly mistakes southern the adviser. With a promptitude which always marks

Mr. Venable. Certainly.

oregon, California and New Mexico, is well known in this House. I deeply regret the failure of that in this House. I deeply regret the failure of that measure, for it would have adjusted at least this cause of alienation between the North and the South. In its annual message at the opening of this sension of Constitution and New Mexico, is well known in the minds of southern statesmen. The second that a defect is, that a State is created by the consent of this House who are capitulated the story of our wrongs. It was with lection of a man, who, in October last, addressing a constitution.

North. And whilst I approve of both measures, it is unforted to fix the Wilmot provise to this bill, and determined to fix the Wilmot provise to this bill, and the wrong, because of their she may adopt, or the fitness of the population to the matter of the government which is southern friends in the wrong, because of their impatience under a sense of injury. A meeting of his weary limbs at your door, and defend him as determined to fix the would be no limit to the abuse. But there would be no limit to the abuse. But the read-tion of a southern statesmen. The second that it is unforted in the word of a southern statesmen. The second the matter of the government which is unfair for gautement of constitution.

North. And whilst I approve of both measures, it is unforted to fix the Wilmot provise to this bill, and the word in the word is unforted in the word of the southern statesmen. The second the statesmen is the way adopt to the southern statesmen. The second the matter of the government which is unforted to fix the Wilmot provise to this bill, and the word is unforted to fix the word in the word

tered over an immense surface, and unaccustomed to is fixed to the bill by a majority, it is an affair, sir, the territories an efficient government—territorial in ing under the influence of motives which shunned of their harbors for the ingress and egress of vestutions particularly ignorant of our social system, ment before emigration has given the southern States its provisions. It meets the obligation which we ed before the public as the enemies of liberty. government, in the first degree, is that which cir- men to the South. We all must know, that if the cumstances imperiously demand, and the only one formation of a State government be hurried now, difficulties which may arise with either of the bills has preserved him from co contaminating an associa- haps be found to have taken refinge in the purse.

incongruous elements of society as it exists. The To vote for this bill is to seal forever this question social tie is not of sufficient force to bring them to- against the South. I was much pleased to find my or NORTH CAROLINA,

gether under any other form of government at present. friend from Kentucky [Mr. Morehead] still confiding to the formation of their ewn institutions. On this we eighteen who voted against any address to go forth Distance as well as the inveteracy of habit render in the conservative veto of the President. I listened can all unite, and the future developments may tend to United States, February 26, 1849, on the bill to them naturally averse to the effort which any other with pleasure and with profit to his remarks. I am establish a Territorial Government in California. government would require; and the security from for resisting this policy by the legislative and the Mr. CHAIRMAN: I have given to each proposition violence, and the instincts of self-protection, would at executive arm, for I feel assured that the adoption of which has been submitted, either in the House or once demonstrate to them that a powerful, strong, and the Wilmot proviso, either in its terms or in its spirit, whole subject has the gravest aspect, and should be

approached them with the most sincere desire to fix our western domain, who, by early association and ly and unbecoming; but when every Legislature, education, are inclined to prefer, and whose expe- from Virginia to Florida, has spoken out in resolufinal and satisfactory settlement. Aware of the rience would cause them to adopt, institutions simia purpose of resistance, it becomes us to pause. A have heard with pain several gentlemen speak with be adopted, which, whilst it would effect a just and It was well said, Mr. Chairman, by the gentleman but small respect of the resolutions of Legislatures, dead, as I learn that my friend fell in the same hattle all must know; but he was neither the suggestor nor ernment was the trustee, and held these territories in gress listened with respect, and received with courvirtue of that trust. In a speech recently delivered tesy their communications, and they were usually or a prejudice against, any individual, constitutes regarded as safe indications of the popular mind. any element in southern opinion. Mr. Van Buren "We talk about dissolving the Union-we talk But, sir, those days have passed. The magnificence deserted the principles which he had avowed and most serious and fearful extent. It does exist, about destroying our institutions-we talk about aban- of this central Government has eclipsed the modest proposed, and the southern Republicans adhered to and he, sir, must have been utterly regardless of our doning all the past, and all the glorious prospects of pretensions of the State institutions; and those sovhistory, who has not been deeply affected with the the future, because, forsooth, we will squabble over ereign States to which we owe our allegiance are other gentleman from New York, [Mr. Mullin,] a portion of southern representatives. nature of the events which have given character to the distribution of a trust subject and a trust fund. sneered at as insignificant, and their voice disregard- few moments since, referred to the same subject, and our legislative history for years past; who has not We, the mere trustee, holding it but for an hour or a ed. It is not the least distressing indication of the concluded by assuring us that all concessions had marked the progressive inroads of one party, and the day, quarrel and destroy all our institutions, while times that all State-rights politicians are considered been made by dough-faces, and that the northern peoequally decided remonstrances of the other; the steady there are the people of California—the cestui que as abstractionists, and that the commanding power of ple now and forever adhered to the principles of the urpose on the one hand to invade and the warning giv- trust-they to whom it belongs-they who are pri- a great central Government threatens to absorb all proviso. I listened with attention and respect, but on the other that hopeless evil must be the result marily entitled to it, ask and demand of you that you rival authority. Those State sovereignties whose can assure the gentleman that such declarations may f the invasion. I know that it has become common should not quarrel over the distribution of the trust original light was intended to give lustre to the Fed- hurry the formation of a geographical and sectional denominate every expression of a purpose to resist fund, but that you should come up and surrender that eral power, are rapidly becoming reflectors, instead of party, but be productive of no better result. ggression on the part of southern gentlemen, a threat; trust subject itself into the hands of those who are generators: their governments at first seemed to reand we have been gravely told that nothing could its legitimate owners, that a sovereign State may be volve around this centre, were, in fact, within the of reverence to the Union—the glorious Union. But val of one which concurred entirely in a detail of facts. influence of a great political whirlpool; each succes- I have never heard of a southern statesman whose weakness of regarding them when made. We grave- I am very far from admitting, however, that the in- sive revolution makes the heads of statesmen more abhorrence of the Wilmot proviso, or even of aboli- league has alluded, [Mr. Calhoun,] it has been my forly advised upon this matter; and it is not my pur- habitants of the Territories are alone the cestui que trust. giddy, and comes nearer to the centres tion, led him to such extravagant denunciations as tune to differ in some of the most important political Mr. Preston. Will the gentleman give way? . until all will be overwhelmed in the vortex of con- those which fell from the gentleman from New movements. I have differed with him, however, withsolidation. Congress, who, under the Constitution, Hampshire, [Mr. Wilson.] Driven by the current out doing injustice to the purity of his heart, the eleva-Mr. Preston. I said that the Government of the was authorized to admit new States, is now supposed of his elequent thought be a proud people, and that we could one, will not be satisfied with any thing less. I feel United States was trustee for the great purpose of to have the power to create them; and I fear it will would consent to the extension of slavery, he would mind. On one subject I have always felt most deeply assured that it is one thing to be the subject of an in- maturing the growth of a State, and that the citizens next be discovered that the power which can create not only see this Union dissolved, but the whole with him-his devotion to the South and its institujury inflicted by the hand of power, and quite another of the United States composing that community were has the ability to obliterate from existence a refracto- universe in a state of collapse-not our solar system tions. All of us must have admired his unwearied rery member of the Confederacy.

in private life can never secure a friendship by any does not obviate the difficulty, for it presupposes that gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. Preston,] in the sub- and all-New Mexico and California, all blotted arrangement which exalts the one and degrades the there can be a time, when, if there were no inhabi- stitute before us. I sympathize most sincerely in from existence. I cannot but admire the gentleman's other, so statesmen can never restore or perpetuate tants, there could be no cestui que trust, and at least his deep anxiety to give repose and a final adjustment desire to be a martyr, for in this universal crash he in the lists of 1812? In the darkest hours of that fraternal relations amongst the citizens of this great when there was a number less than should be formed to this disturbing question. But, sir, his bill cannot could not hope to escape annihilation. A well-known war, his firmness and his sagacity were the admira-Republic, upon any basis which does not combine the into a State, that there was in existence only an in- effect that object. Should a State government be manifesto of twenty members of Congress, headed elements of equality and justice. I shall not at present complete cestui que trust. Conquest would confer formed excluding slavery, the South will not be sat- by Mr. Adams, so often apostrophized by orators in enlarge upon so obvious and simple a proposition: upon the inhabitants the title to territory, instead of isfied, because a surface equal to one-fourth of the this House as a patron of patriotism and the embodimy purpose was only to express the conviction, that transferring it to the conquerors; and even a treaty United States has been taken from them by the pop- ment of statesmanship, also declared that the admisin all our expressions of anxiety to give the country could confer no title to eminent domain, without the ulation of a conquered territory and a few emigrants sion of Texas was a virtual dissolution of the Union; repose, it should be manifest, at least that, that repose consent of the inhabitants of a conquered or a ceded from all quarters of the world; the mineral wealth and that it became the States aggrieved to accomplish should owe its existence to a conviction on all hands territory. It is the domain of the United States, of of these regions forever lost to them by the vote of the separation, peaceably if they could, forcibly if public, and whose head covered with the snows of all the people of all the States, and this Government those who have been conquered by their valor, and they must. The leader of such a movement is can-There is a repose, Mr. Chairman, which all patriots is the trustee for the whole. This trust estate can all the advantages of position and of prosperity at onized, whilst mere complaint of aggression by a desire—that tranquillity spoken of in the preamble of our Constitution, which dwells in the might of a performance of the constitution, which dwells in the might of a performance of the progress of ment; which springs from a sense of security to persons and property, and property, and property, and property and prop disturb this repose; for it is only by this vigilance that it can be restored or preserved. But there is a repose State, of that which was held for all the people of me that the combined population of California proper, it can be restored or preserved. But there is a repose State, of that which was held for all the people of which no patriot can desire: an abject submission to all the States. A cession by treaty to a foreign west of the Sierra Nevada, did not exceed fifteen few days since that this slavery question and the wrong, or the paralysis, of despair which sometimes Power carries with it the territory and its inhabitants, thousand—a population less than that of either of proviso was a local and not a political question—that oblivion. His reputation will suffer nothing by the produces quiet without peace, and stillness without unless they choose to remove within the limits of three counties in my own district; that such was repose; a sense of deep injustice, without the hope the United States. There is no absolute right of a the intense interest for gold-hunting, that it was imof redress; a sullen acquiescence to evil, because it Territory to demand admission as a State. It is a possible for him to get the citizens there to elect the is without remedy. This is the repose which is found privilege to ask, and if nothing of sufficient impor- alcade or judge; and that he actually was compelled holding States never brought it here. But, sir, he or reluctant to disclose the full extent of their injuries. in the stillness of despotism, and can never exist tance should forbid, it is the duty of Congress to to keep open the polls for several days, without preamidst free institutions. The statesman should nev- admit. But it is a matter of sound discretion to be cedent or law, to effect an election. He promptly Federal leader of the year 1819, of the Missouri comer be unwilling to hear the murmurs of the people, exercised by Congress, who should judge discreetly, affirmed that he did not believe that the occupation of promise. He declared in the Senate that it was not in a Government like ours. He should never com-plain of agitation when the rights of the citizens are sovereignty on the part of the Territories does not invaded. The clamor which men raise under a sense of wrong, is the healthful and natural indication of the Federal Government, but the propriety of that

It is but encouraging the wrong-doer, to denounce sovereign, it is a revolutionary act, rendered harmless, that complaint as agitation.

ed wishes of the Executive, who, with much wished dom, has decided that this is the government which it is true, by a reception into the Confederacy. It is I have said thus much, sir, because of a sickly scarcely necessary for me here to remark, that Con- they need. If he had changed his opinion, he would

to refuse admission into the Union of the State which protection of a government. I voted against the bill and for the spirited manner in which he exposed the the mere assertion of the guarantees of the Constitu- adopted them. The right to form a government is to extend the revenue laws over those territories, fallacies which have been paraded before this House tion, and denounced as desirous of keeping the sub- one thing, but the right to come into this Confedera- which passed some days since, because I will not so often and so gravely. No, sir, that would not ject open for the purpose of agitation, because they tion is another; so that we do not hold as trustees collect taxes or impose burdens where I withhold satisfy, although there are many gentlemen here who are not ready to abandon the rights of their constitufor the inhabitants of the Territories alone, neither
ents to an unjust demand. There seems to be with
have they a right to demand admission unconditionbill passed, because it is at war with our revolution.

To be demand this abolition in the face of
the resolutions of Virginia and the other States, as if some a fearful apprehension that the subject ought ally into the Union as a matter of right. We learn ary and republican doctrines. I shall do everything resolved to compel submission or an inglorious remuch from contemporaneous history. The ordinance short of a surrender of the rights of my constituents, treat-who say, that this will compose the difficulty Sir, it ought to be discussed, however it may agitate, because it lies at the bottom of all the deeply the Northwest Territory should adopt republican to desire not to assail your instances. We know that it is but the Northwest Territory should adopt republican to desire not to assail your instances. The obligation to desire not to assail your instances and restore harmony—we desire not to assail your instances. We know that it is but the Northwest Territory should adopt republican to desire not to assail your instances. We know that it is but the Northwest Territory should adopt republican to desire not to assail your instances. constitutions—a provision which enables us to under- the Wilmot Proviso, and no set form of words, in the song of the syren; that it would create in this liver requires positive action on the part of the authoalienate the affections of our people. He is but an stand what is meant by that provision in the Constiempiric who prescribes without a thorough knowledge tution which guaranties a republican form of govern- grounds from which they will not recede. Believing which could be derived from the impurity and the ment to each of the States. The people who form so, sir, I owe allegiance to North Carolina, and obe- corruption of wicked men; that all those resources clause as to slavery, but for the consideration of the consequences ensue, is but little less guilty than the must be able to understand and create a republican dience to this Federal Government and its authorities, would be made to subserve the agitation of this submurderer. Turn from the contemplation of this subject form of government, before Congress could exercise because North Carolina commands me to do so. ject in all the adjoining States, until they would, of domestic slavery we may—avoid the adjustment of a sound discretion in the admission of such a State. Should their commands conflict, I must and should from the instincts of self-preservation, suppress and but was never successful until the consideration was the difficulties which are connected with it, we can The substitute of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. obey my State. I must withhold my vote from the abate the nuisance. I do not believe, sir, in the safefor a while; but the difficulties must accumulate with the delay, and dangers, which arise out of those difficulties must become more fearful.

The substitute of the gentleman from virginia [Mr.] obey my State. I must withhold my vote from the substitute of the gentleman from virginia [Mr.] obey my State. I must withhold my vote from the substitute of the gentleman from virginia [Mr.] obey my State. I must withhold my vote from the substitute of the gentleman from virginia [Mr.] obey my State. I must withhold my vote from the substitute of the gentleman from virginia [Mr.] obey my State. I must withhold my vote from the substitute, because I cannot perceive the constitution, of the constitution, of the same provisions were engrafted in the Constitution of the same provisions were engrafted in the Constitution of the same provisions were engrafted in the Constitution of the same provisions were engrafted in the Constitution of the same provisions were engrafted in the Constitution of the same provisions were engrafted in the Constitution of the same provisions were engrafted in the Constitution of the same provisions were engrafted in the Constitution of the same provisions were engrafted in the Constitution of the same provisions were engrafted in the Constitution of the United States at the same time, and doubt-I shall not at this time enlarge upon the subject of slavery as it exists at the South. I do not rise to dis
Cuss questions of exhibits but of constitutional signal and with an unconstitutional appor
Cuss questions of exhibits but of constitutional signal and with an unconstitutional appor
Cuss questions of exhibits but of constitutional signal and with an unconstitutional appor
Cuss questions of exhibits but of constitutional signal and with an unconstitutional appor
Cuss questions of exhibits but of constitutional signal and with an unconstitutional appormight establish a religion, or contain many provis-ions which conflict with the spirit of our institutions, tionment of representatives in this House—unconstinot to lecture on the progress of society or the developments of transcendental benevolence in future velopments of transcendental benevolence in future velopments of transcendental benevolence in future velopments of Assyria, and shalt afflict my neonle. imes, but to weigh and determine the value of the ly contemplated the existence of those States, comby contemplated the existence of those states, comevery probability against its beloaded the should do such the should do such the should do such the should exclude slaveholdit might be invaded the territory of the invader should States which already composed the Confederacy. The ers and their property from the territories, and thus be inviolable? No, sir, the conclusion is absurd. states which already composed the Confederacy. The one of the dying Benhadad, who under consideration—to examine the measures proposed the Confederacy. The power is one of discretion, and should be soundly and inflict the result of the provise on the South; beposed, and their adaptation to the end. And here, sir, I would remark, that I am convinced that the Presil would remark, that I am convinced that the Presil would remark, that I am convinced that the Presil would remark, that I am convinced that the Presil would remark, that I am convinced that the Presil would remark, that I am convinced that the Presil would remark, that I am convinced that the Presil would remark, that I am convinced that the Presil would remark, that I am convinced that the Presil would remark, that I am convinced that the Presil would remark, that I am convinced that the Presil would remark that I am convinced that the Presil would remark the result of the proviso of the Sound and should be soundly and an ontrage on any other species of property would deplore a spirit of conquest from the result of the proviso of the Sound and ontrage on any other species of property would deplore a spirit of conquest from the sound and ontrage on any other species of property would discreetly exercised. A State is a sovereign, and the substitute prol would remark, that I am convinced that the Presil would remark the result of the proviso of the Sound that the proviso of the sound tha dent has recommended the proper policy. In his poses to give two members in the House of Repremessage of the last session, shortly before its close, sentatives. This is evidently and conclusively unhe recommended a territorial government for the provinces of California and New Mexico; he brought

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to the spi the subject before Congress, and urged the pressing than one representative. The population of the whole ions on the subject of government, and collected from the want of civilization, except that no State shall have been in vain to population, except that no State shall have been in vain to population, except that no state shall have been in vain to population of the would call forth murmurs and remonstrances, than one representative. The population of the whole ions on the subject of government, and collected from the want of civilization. necessity of such a measure upon the expiration of Territory of New Mexico, excluding savages, does such remote quarters by emigration, hostile to the inthe military governments which he had formed during the war. The fate of the bill for the formation of the thin the formation of the then Territories Oregon, California and New Mexico, is well known there would be no limit to the abuse. But the radi-

reference to the character of the same recommendation—of this session of congress he made the same recommendation—of this measure? Many of Congress he made the same recommendation—of this session of the population to form or appreciate republican institutions. Sir, why this expedient to settle this territorial difficulty? Did near eighty of the southern fellow and the southern fellow in the same category with the southern fellow of the southern fellow of the southern fellow of the sexion of the southern fellow of the who insist upon their right so to appropriate the do-main of the United States as to exclude a large por-main of the United States as to exclude a large por-

And what do we gain, sir, by this expedient? | may consider the apprehensions of danger to the buke their colleagues of the South for a manifestation by all the holy rights of hospitality, we may excel The reasons, sir, why a territorial government should Have we reason to believe that the incongruous mul- Union, I warn you to forbear. Should Virginia re- of restlessness under the pressure of aggression. the worst results. Sir, to be plundered by an en be preferred, are most obvious. Our acquaintance titude, with none of the elements of statesmanship or sist, as her resolutions indicate, I do not believe there Those strictures would have been more properly my is not easily endured; but to be swindled by with the population and the territories themselves, political experience, ought to be intrusted with the is a State south of Mason and Dixon's line that addressed to the wrong-doers. The value of the confederate, robbed by a partner, is insufferable.

But, sir, there are some other considerations which I am disposed to bring before the committee. This tleman from New York, [Mr. Starkweather,] review among the dead and wounded look for the causes of ence, pronounced the funeral oration of Martin Van

whelms you. I feel assured, that as men of honor Mr. Venable. I accept the explanation; but it Sir, I fully appreciate the patriotic motives of the robe of night, together with this little world—slaves which he foretold the present unhappy state of affairs.

principle of justice and equality. The approach of gress, in the acknowledgment of the asserted sover- accomplished officer-Lieutenant Lanman-of our words. I say to gentlemen, that they are engaged in ter. The friend of this Union, the champion of reaggression, or the assaults of a selfish policy, must eignty of the "inhabitants." The law admitting the navy, who, until the last of October, acted as collection on the assaults of a selfish policy, must eignty of the "inhabitants." The law admitting the navy, who, until the last of October, acted as collection of the selfish policy. The law admitting the navy, who, until the last of October, acted as collections, and the philosophic statesman, masters injury.

it was brought here by tricksters and knavish politi- Address of which he is the author. Calm. dignified pain and disease in the body politic. The way to assertion is to be judged of and acted upon by Concalm such agitation, is to do justice, and to cause gress itself; and whenever a Territory, without a government as the one best suited to the case. tution, and that the voice of small States is as poten- kindred and of friends; of all rancorous hostilities, the wrong-doer to forbear. It is but aggravating the wrong, to rebuke the complaint which announces it.

Sir, I feel assured, in supporting a territorial government, and declare itself ernment in California, I am carrying out the express-

hour ago, [Mr. Evans, of Maryland,] that we of the

ions of a southern map, he asserted our rights, and

hands of the Executive, and avoids the exasperating league's disapprobation. If his superior prudence we have been considering. It gives authority to pro- tion, to him let the benefit accrue. I feel no concern tect persons and property, and to repress and punish for the result, either to myself or to my associates, I do not speak here as I expect to speak to a portion crime, and places no restraint upon the inhabitants as when I know, that in all the meeting, there were but of my constituents next week. Such plainness of make our line of action clearer and more satisfactory, of the northern press admits the justice of our complaints as embodied in that address; and the South, without distinction of party, both approve and applaud us. My colleague intimated that the whole well considered by us all. I will not, with the gen- arrangement was made, and the movement consummated, by the distinguished author of the Address; the battle-field of the late Presidential election, and and that the concluding advice to the South, to be united amongst themselves, meant nothing more nor less than to be united upon him-John C. Cathoun. Sir, that this eminent individual approved of the Buren: it was a labor of love-the dead burying the meeting, I know; that he cooperated with alacrity, feeling if he supposes that either an attachment for, his devotion to the interests of the South, he threw himself in our midst, to enlighten us by his counsels and sustain us by his presence. He acted with promptness and with energy-I may add, success. Geotlemen cannot avoid the difficulties of their positheir principles and abandoned Mr. Van Buren. An- tion in assailing him or the measures of so large 3 It is in vain to say that that movement is a move-

ment of persons disappointed by the election of Gen.

There were some, who rising above the restraints of party discipline, saw, in the menaced rights and interests of the South, something that cught to merge fore degradation, and the hazard of all consequences all party considerations. And many who did not sign to fixed political inequality. And again, I ask, who the address adopted by the meeting voted their appro- that lives in a southern State would gainsay these alone, but all the bright stars which chine on the sistance to aggression, and the prophetic skill with Who can forget his magnificent entree upon the political arena, near forty years ago, when he won his spurs tion of all observers. Then, sir, a brilliant constellation shore amidst the representatives of the people, and he shone with the brightest in the group. We see his venerable form sinking under the weight of years and the accumulation of labors-a specimen of the statesmen who ruled in the better days of the Reage, reminds us that we may soon lose his inestimable services. He is amongst us as the last jewel he will live to adorn the history of our Republic,

Mr. Chairman, I am reminded of the state of feel-Republic. No man who takes notice of passing of separation from those whose affectionate regard and events can fail to observe the progress of alienation between the North and the South. Sir, alienation of feeling is but the heginning of hostility; hosility produces enmity, with all its appalling consequences. Of all fends, the most irreconciliable are those of the most unmitigated are those which originate in nattle the question. Who would vote for the formation fully aware of the way in which they may be assail- tural ties severed and social charities disregarded. of a State composed of Florida and Maine leaving all The border war between England and Scotland was the intervening territory an uninhabited reserve! never ended till both crowns were worn by the same individual; and the union of the two nations under one government brought tranquility and repose. I make these remarks, sir, because of the exasperating bers of those who are already opposed to our instidifficulties which continually arise on the borders of the free States in relation to fugitive slaves. The Constitution requires that fugitive slaves shall be delivered up. The free States deny the obligation to deliver, but content themselves (some of them) with permitting the master to arrest them. Other States obstruct the recapture by statutory enactments. Sir. this is a disgraceful subterfuge-an unprincipled attempt to annul the Constitution. If I covenant to deliver you a horse, it is no fulfillment of my covenant to could never have been passed with the restrictive made to incorporate that clause excluding slavery,

> returning from the capture of codfish, was taken either press the spirit of war and conquest which he seems which would ripen into resistance and war if unheeded. are made. He would take to himself the spoils by Upon the course of the State of New York, I look way of reproof to the South. Sir, did the South with the deepest concern. The recent election of William H. Seward to the Senate, from that great State, is calculated to excite the greatest apprehensions in the minds of southern statesmen. The se- North. And whilst I approve of both measures, it

citizens of the former upon these of the latter; all trade with their cities or their citizens ought to be abandoned; and those sensibilities, which have been banished from their mind and conscience, may perdo not speak in the language of menace. No, sir; speech would be unbecoming here. But, sir, I say to gentlemen here, that we are not ignorant of our rights, or of the means of securing them. We love the union which has for its object tranquility, equal justice, and security; but, sir, no other. None of us will worship a devil because he is arrayed in an angel's robes. The blame shall never be on us if the tie is dissolved. The Union, which now reflects the glorious image of empires within an empire-a circle of States, each giving light to a central Government, which derives its consequence and its power from them, and them alone-if broken, shall not receive the blow from us. It must be shivered by those who wantonly and wickedly make experiments upon its power of resisting force. And when its shattered fragments shall only multiply images of sorrow and ruin, we will be comforted by the assurance that we made every attempt to avert the wicked blow which brought about the dissolution.

I have a remark to make in relation to the action of certain members of the southern delegation, who signed and published an address to their constituents. As an humble member of that meeting. I may be permitted to speak of its objects an its aims. We have Taylor. There were too many of the prominent been denounced as disunionists. The denunciation friends of that distinguished person in the meeting. is false. We are the friends of the Union; but, sir, we prefer disunion to dishonor; and where is the craven southern heart that does not? Resistance beconclusions? I rejoice that southern States have spoken through their Legislatures; that a southern constituency are alive to the responsibilities of their position, and that southern hearts beat high for the preservation of State rights and State sovereignty. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Root] said that we not help it. I responded with my whole heart to the declaration, however he may have regarded as when he made it. We are proud of our determination to maintain the guarantees of the Constitution. We are proud of our history-proud that it was not the wrongs of southern colonies, the favorites of the British Government, which hurried on the Revolution : but that it was the blood of Massachusetts, shed on patriots on the dark struggle, and opened the lides of blood which mingled with theirs in the conflicts of the Revolution. How we have been compensated for this fraternal feeling let history determina. I, in common with this whole House, listened with delight to the enrapturing eloquence of my friend from Virginia [Mr. McDowell] a few days since. His patriotism and high moral elevation must ever place him in a high position. I trust that his appeals may be useful in the adjustment of this harrassing question. But I do not agree with him or others who have spoken of the danger to southern slave-owners from the vengeance of their slaves. No, sir I fear them not. We ask no aid to protect ourselves. They have neither the cause nor the disposition to do their own or our neighbors' servants than from the stock which graze upon our farms. They are our friends, and their domestic relations are kind and conservative. No where has that race been so elevated in morals, religion, and civilization as in the state in which they have been amongst us, I challenge the history of the world to contradict the statement. I trust shortly to be amongst the domestics of my own family, and shall meet with more greetings of heartfelt ing which exists between different portions of our kindness, which have ever compensated for the pain unwavering confidence causes every southern master to look spon his servants as his most abiding friends. Sire I shall vote for any amendment to the substitute which embodies the principle of the act of 1803, relative to Louisiana. The substitute of the gentlemen from Virginia is impracticable, and does not set-

> whilst he only regrets the name of the Wilmot provise? No. sir; I say to the North, refrain from your unreasonable claims; repeal your offensive laws concerning fugitive slaves; come back to the guarantees of the Constitution; avoid sectional jealousies; leave the agitation of abelitonism in this District; and restore the kind feelings so hearly destroyed. With my friend from Maryland, [Mr. Evans,] I say, if nothing can satisfy the people of the North, remove the capital, take it to the Far West, plant it in a free State, and save yourselves from the associations which so much annoy you; but as you value the Union, our interest, our prosperity as one people, assail no further the guarantees of the Constitution. Gentlemen disclose the weakness of their position by the arguments to which they resort. They tell his that the Constitution contemplated no further acquisition of territory. It is amusing to mark the acuteness with which constructions of the Constitution are assumed, when no such provision exists, and the palpable disregard of elear requirements. Do gentlemen forget that the acquisition of territory by trenty and by conquest results from the nature of government itself? Did our ancestors, form the feeblest and most inefficient of all governments, by denying the right

> Who is willing to give a handful of foreigners and

emigrants an equal vote in the Senate, and two Rep-

resentatives in this House, to add to the growing num-

tution? Who can consent to yield to the principle,